My Struggle to Dismantle My Whiteness: A Critical-Race Examination of Whiteness from within Whiteness

Abstract

The academic study of Whiteness is integral to the critical study of race, and it has mostly been done by People of Color. Simultaneously, some of the most effective scholarly inquiry into Whiteness utilizes autoethnographic methods in which Women of Color document a critical examination of the influences of race and gender upon their lived experience, including Whiteness. Although pioneering white scholars like Peggy McIntosh have explored the issue, little autoethnographic research has documented the white subject's discovery of her own complicity in Whiteness. This autoethnographical account of a White woman problematizing her own Whiteness seeks to fill that gap.

Keywords: Autoethnography; Whiteness Studies; White supremacy; Critical Race Theory; Privilege; Racism

The academic study of Whiteness has a rich history, yet most White people remain unaware of this history, their White privilege, and its array of attendant consequences. This pernicious ignorance led bell hooks (1995) to remark in *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*, "Whether they are able to enact it as lived practice or not, many white folks active in anti-racist struggle today are able to acknowledge that all whites (as well as everyone else within white supremacist culture) have learned to overvalue 'whiteness' even as they simultaneously learn to devalue blackness" (150). People of Color, because they are devalued, have no such luxury. Consequently, most scholarly criticisms of Whiteness emerged from People of Color generally and from Women of Color specifically. In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, for example, hooks (1992) rightly argued that People of Color have always had a "special knowledge" of Whiteness because of their subordinate status to it.

One way Women of Color have addressed this "special knowledge of whiteness" and attempted to communicate it in a scholarly way has been through autoethnography. Robin Baylorn (2008), for example, draws on hooks to argue for the usefulness of autoethnographic methodologies, writing, "Turning the ethnographic gaze in on itself, autoethnography allows the marginalized voice to speak for itself. Grounded in experience and written in evocative prose, autoethnography is intended to provoke other stories" (414). Authoethnography has provided an opportunity and a venue to speak despite dominant discourses of Whiteness, and as scholarship it provides a unique way for those experiences to be heard.

Autoethnography alone, however, cannot dismantle Whiteness if White people refuse to acknowledge its existence. In *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*, hooks (2003:25–26) tells a story of a classroom exercise she utilizes when she encounters students telling her that racism is no longer relevant, that "we are all just people." hooks then challenges the students to imagine choosing to be reincarnated as one of a white male, white female, black male, or white female. Invariably, white males are chosen most often and black females are chosen least often. As hooks writes, "When I ask students to explain their choice they proceed to do a sophisticated analysis of privilege based on race" (26). This means the problems attendant to gender and, more, to race are understood; they're just ignored. hooks (1995) identified the ultimate problem causing this disconnect earlier in *Killing Rage*, where she wrote, "While it has become 'cool' for white folks to hang out with black people and express pleasure in black culture, most white people do not feel that this pleasure should be linked to unlearning racism" (157). In order to dismantle Whiteness, then, there must be acknowledgement and recognition, but there must also be the desire to utilize that recognition to overcome the cultural persistence of White supremacy.

This sort of recognition and will to re-examine and question privilege from within Whiteness is modelled by white scholar, Peggy McIntosh, in "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" (originally written in 1988). McIntosh (2004) likened the denial of White privilege to the denial of male privilege, noting that, "To redesign social systems, we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here" (192). Most significantly, McIntosh *applies her analysis to herself* and to her way of thinking and writing: "In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in the invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth" (191). In this vein, autoethnography is a valuable tool for communicating to White people what they should perceive, address, and ultimately work toward to remediate Whiteness. Autoethnography thus has the potential to function as a "response to the alienating effects on both researchers and audiences of impersonal, passionless, abstract claims of truth generated by such research practices and clothed in exclusionary scientific discourse" (Ellingson and Ellis 2008:450). That is, autoethnography may not be able to dismantle Whiteness itself, but it lays crucial planks on the bridge that must be crossed if Whiteness is ever to be dismantled.

This paper broaches different territory. By using an autoethnographic methodology to examine the construction of Whiteness from a White lived experience that realized the need to dismantle Whiteness, it examines how Whiteness and White privilege were revealed to the author through decades of studying the writings of People of Color and allies, such as McIntosh. It takes care to honor both the "auto" and the "ethno" part of the method (Winkler 2018:2) and balances a personal story with a critical analysis of culture. It thus weaves together evocative (Muncey 2010) and analytical (Anderson 2006) autoethnography in order to achieve the affective/narratorial element and a rigorous cultural critique (Colyar 2013).

Whiteness

Thinking back, it is almost impossible for me to remember when Whiteness began to bring particular thoughts to my consciousness. Particularly, I do not remember even having heard the word in my home during my mother's lifetime. The (political) concept of "Whiteness" was, in retrospect, ubiquitously present and yet conspicuously absent from my formative experiences. Although extensive scholarship into Whiteness had been done long before I was born and the works of W. E. B DuBois, for example, were readily available to me, I did not even know of their existence. Nor did the extensive writings on White privilege of Theodore W. Allen, although much of it was published in my own lifetime, permeate my consciousness. I did not know, as they could have shown me, the history of my race and, for example, its invention of the late 17th century plantations at the continuing expense of African Americans.

Within my own home in Scottsdale, Arizona, if "Black" was ever mentioned in a derogatory sense, my mother, who prided herself on kindness and decency, would likely have considered those who used it as such as being uneducated, unkind, and vulgar. In the course of her career as a social worker she had come to be compassionate and mild-mannered, which had a contagious effect on me. In my schooling I found no reason to alter the picture of our shared cultural reality that I formed in my home. This kind of obliviousness is typical for White people as Peggy McIntosh (1988), the first white woman to pay any attention to what Women of Color have been telling us for so long, reveals:

> My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us." (188)

Reading this admission of McIntosh's was what first persuaded me to (re)consider my life, assumptions, and my own Whiteness. I was anxious not to, yet again, center White women's experiences but to confront myself and learn how to confront other White people; I could try and relieve People of Color of the burden they have always carried of the "special knowledge" of Whiteness invisible to White people (hooks 1992).

Scottsdale

I grew up in an all-white neighborhood in Scottsdale, Arizona, where nearly everyone is either white or White. Though superficially confusing, the distinction between white and White is not without practical consequence or theoretical importance (Young 2015a, 2015b). Lower-case-w white people are white people, for whom their Whiteness—and their privilege—seems not an issue because their whiteness is the happenstance condition of having been born as a white person. Capital-W White, however, is another matter. Capital-W Whiteness is the outgrowth of a toxic racial consciousness upon the fact of being white (Young 2015a, 2015b).

      As a White person at the time, it was not until I was thirteen or fourteen that my encounters with the words "White" and "White privilege" became frequent, mostly in connection with political controversies and issues of Social Justice (for examples, the murder of unarmed Black men by police, rampant racial injustices in the prison system, sentencing inequalities in the court system, discriminatory hiring and employment practices, etc.). These discussions aroused an uncomfortable aversion in me, and I always had a disquieting feeling descend upon me when listening to Social Justice conversations (Bailey 2017; DiAngelo 2011). During this time in my youth, though awakening somewhat, I had no other feeling about issues surrounding Whiteness, privilege, or Social Justice.

At the time, Whiteness in Scottsdale was typical enough for the Southwest and yet atypical of the somewhat complicated racial affair constituting contemporary American culture. Over the decades, the Whites who lived in Scottsdale came to represent three fairly distinct groups, a privileged elite whose Whiteness was apparent (yet incidental in a way consistent with tacit intentionality intrinsic to White social dynamics [Lipsitz 2006; Painter 2011]), an overtly racist pseudo-elite whose Whiteness defined them, and a smaller set who, though w/White, appropriated Black culture and attempted to make it an integral aspect of their own lived reality (hooks 1995; Kajikawa 2009; Tate 2003). There was a simultaneous awareness of all three groups but only the first two mattered to my lived experience.

To address these ostensibly disparate groups, many within the last category had appropriated much culture from People of Color, yet I did not have cause to look at them as cultural thieves (Colley 2000; Sears 2007; Stanwood 2006). Regarding the former two, I saw them as entirely distinct. I did not perceive the ridiculousness of my illusion because the only external impression I recognized as distinguishing white people from Black people was their skin color, and I found racism intolerable. On the other hand, I heard people routinely making jokes about Whites, to the point where white people were sometimes perceived negatively because of their pigmentation. My revulsion to hearing remarks and cautions against them grew into a feeling of disgust (cf. DiAngelo 2011, 2015).

As a child in Scottsdale, Whiteness seemed irrelevant and whiteness simple: there were (White) racists and people who happened to be white, and to conflate the latter with the former was as much a "sin" as any other form of racial discrimination (King 1967:78–103). Paradoxically, though it would seem otherwise, there is very little to say about those overtly racist Whites whose Whiteness and racism are conspicuous. Their racism is coarse and blatant, and it is only that theirs is little different than the elite systemic racism and Whiteness that makes the point of this paper trenchant. For these unabashedly racist Whites, so infamously common in the South, their behavior was often violent in its verbal expression against People of Color, but it was also all the easier to ignore because of its vulgarity. Because times have changed, even in Arizona, no one appreciated these Whites, and we all—whites, Whites, and People of Color—knew to avoid them and their openly regressive attitudes. That left us the problem of witnessing and enduring as little of their abuse and violence as we could, standing up to it when possible, and otherwise getting on with our lives (cf. Dizard 1970).

Where there is the most to reflect upon lies in the privileged elite whose Whiteness carried the usual power and soft domination of the privileged. These Whites did not appear to be racist—and I did not think they were—but their racism was all the worse for the fact of its seeming gentleness and near-invisibility. McIntosh (2004) poignantly articulated this problem:

> I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege… I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious. (188)

While McIntosh's observation is pertinent and useful, Black feminists have a deeper insight, and many, like hooks (1992), have long argued that Black people have a "special knowledge" of Whiteness because of their subordinated status. White people are usually blind to functions and borders of Whiteness that are immediately obvious to People of Color. Black feminists, in response, have addressed White women with such works as Hazel Carby's "White Woman Listen!" (1982) and Nicole Ward Jouve's *White Woman Speaks with Forked Tongue* (1991), appealing to them, often angrily, to see the racism concealed beneath illusions of gentleness.

Unlike more obviously racist expressions, soft Whiteness provides no nucleation point for outright racism. People of Color, thus, have had to resort to enduring what has come to be understood as tides of microaggressive attacks and ostensibly "anti-racist" attitudes from within soft Whiteness without being given any clear reason to resist, fight, or even to avoid it—or even to find a point upon which to launch a defensive attack (Sue et al. 2008). Due to the evocation of "White Fragility" (DiAngelo 2011, 2015) when soft Whiteness is racially challenged, this problem has been perennially compounded. Questioning these stance, (im)postures, and phrases often provoked seemingly gentle Whites to dive more deeply into their soft Whiteness and to become that much more subtly aggressive against People of Color, especially Blacks. DiAngelo explains White Fragility thusly:

White people in North America live in a social environment that protects and
insulates them from race-based stress. This insulated environment of racial
protection builds white expectations for racial comfort while at the same time
lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress, leading to… White Fragility. White
Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes
intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the
outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as
argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. (DiAngelo
2011:116–117)

Ultimately, even without invoking Fragility, Whites in thrall to soft Whiteness can be wolves in
sheep's clothing because the disguise (of not being overtly racist) has fooled even themselves and
prevented them from working against racism (hooks 1995). People of Color are forced merely to
accept their anti-racist charade as part of the dehumanizing lived experience familiar to all
People of Color in White America (Cameron 2010). This is the Whiteness I participated in
without even realizing how racist I was as a young White woman in hyper-w/White Scottsdale,
Arizona, in the early 2000s. Then, just after I turned twenty, I moved to Jackson, Mississippi.

Jackson

Jackson ain't Scottsdale. Confused and overwhelmed by the impressions from my architectural, geographic, and cultural surroundings, still naive from my experiences as a young woman in Scottsdale, and depressed by my economic situation, initially I did not distinguish between various social strata of the population of Jackson. Nearly 90% of Scottsdale is w/White, with approximately 5% People of Color, and these factors are nearly reversed in Jackson, but oddly I did not appreciate the full impact of the racial demographics of my new home despite having grown up in Scottsdale (Statistical Atlas 2017a, 2017b). I assumed things must be like they were in Scottsdale, in that we were well into the 2010s by then: the area must contain *some* racist Whites among a many other people who merely happened to be white, and my initial experiences in Jackson seemed to confirm this ontological intuition. At first, the swampy Southern air in place of a dry Western desert was harder for me to adjust to than the shift in demographics.

During the first months following my move, I struggled to cope with the onslaught of the various realities in this bewildering new geographical situation; the social and cultural milieu around me seemed normal, if not irrelevant. It was not until I had gradually nested into my situation that this initially confused picture became clear—I acquired a more discerning view of my new environment. And with that clarity I came up, as though for the first time, against the true magnitude of the problem of Whiteness because White supremacy all but defines Jackson despite some fewer than 20% of its population being w/White. This period, then, extending from roughly the third month after my move to until the end of my first year there (though it continues to this day) marked my *true* awakening to the severity of the issues of race in America and of the reality that the ultimate source of these problematic trends in American society rests in Whiteness itself, as is borne out extensively in literature I was, until that time, unaware of (McKinney 2003).

In deference to my mother's belief in kindness and dignity, I will not say that the manner in which I first became acquainted with the magnitude of the problem of Whiteness was particularly unpleasant. It was more than the subtle signs of White supremacy surrounded me in much the same way as the heavy, Gulf air. Still, in the White person I still saw only an individual who lived in a white body, more or less the same as me within, and therefore, on morally-rooted grounds of human tolerance, I was implacably opposed to the notion that she should be criticized because of pigmentation. These noble and high-minded views of (imperfect) egalitarian society had their roots in the memory of a few traumatizing events from my childhood (having witnessed racism can steel one against wishing to participate in anything that might exhibit any signs of racial prejudice), along with the memory of my mother's wisdom about treating people with that same dignity I wished to receive, and I felt that I should not like to see those events repeated or my mother's wise words despoiled. I therefore regarded anti-Whiteness more as products of jealousy or even envy as opposed to expressions of a sincere, though wrong-headed, resistance.

In the course of my experiences, however, I had many opinions resonating in my personal experience confirmed by a careful and deliberate process in which I analyzed and reacted to the stories appearing almost weekly, then daily, on the news. Another Black youth murdered; another political attack on the suffrage of People of Color; another attempt to deport Latinx people, this being prominent in the political culture; and so on, day after day, week after week, all as much a part of the atmosphere in Jackson as unbearable humidity. I frequently became disgusted by the exploitative ways in which the media made a ratings-based spectacle out of the suffering of People of Color over the treatment they were bestowed from what could only be understood as Whiteness, and the ways in which that very media environment played lackey to a monstrous political regime bent upon both disenfranchising and exploiting the suffering of the non-white population (Sanders 2015). That, then, began to open my eyes to the need for radical thought and intervention upon the problem of Whiteness and became the first blot staining my appreciation of the American-capitalist political and media machines.

Even more disconcerting was the way in which this same political-media machine commodified the suffering of People of Color for their own gain, be it capitalistic or reactionary (Sanders 2015). Concurrently, our news environment took up an apparent attitude of anxiety about the welfare and fate of People of Color (Dixon 2008; Kelly 2010), by which they attempted to cloak their exploitation in the serious air of "detached" reporting, as though the stories they reported weren't the gravest injustices: the very murder of Black flesh by privileged Whiteness itself. To my eyes, however, their ruthless exploitation was only poorly hidden, no matter how they protested their neutrality or even their anti-racism—by which the true racist is so often known. Instead, they pretended they were fulfilling a journalistic duty to report objectively upon the truth, but their very claim to "objective truth" came from a position situated within Whiteness.

Painful Awakening: The Unendurable Ravages of Whiteness

To understand these phenomena, Alison Wolf (2017) draws on Bailey's privilege preserving epistemic pushback. Wolf explores the reason/emotion divide by which the Western philosophical tradition of prioritizing reason is assumed to be naturally superior to experience and emotion. It is also assumed to be equally applicable to all identity groups. In this way, she argues, the experiences and feelings of People of Color can be dismissed in the name of an objective truth discernible by reason (even when the shared epistemic resources by which this is evaluated does not include the perspective of People of Color) (Dotson 2014). So excusing themselves, acting as though they were tenderly compassionate and earnestly defending the rights, freedoms, and very lives of People of Color, they picked upon a deeply colored sore spot and then bored ruthlessly under the scab (Berenstain 2016). And this, more than any other insult of Whiteness, boiled my blood and left me unable to believe in what I came to know as the White media.

As if these insults weren't offensive enough, the American political machine, along with the tacit intentionality (Gilborn 2007) it tapped into (and a majority of the White electorate it panders to), used the media to cultivate an admiration for a strand of Americanness that is the most overtly identifiable with Whiteness—even the outright courting of White Supremacy—since before 1968. This barely concealed racial domination is so deeply embedded in centuries of culture, economics, and history that its presence in institutions and policies appears normal and unexceptional to whites motivated towards willful and pernicious ignorance (Bailey 2017; Dotson 2011).

Fast forward to Trump's Presidential campaign.

In this regressive milestone in American history, I realized there was nothing to feel about being American except ashamed when confronted by the nation's sudden return to White ethno-nationalist supremacy under the mellifluous hymn of "Make America Great Again." I cannot count the times this thinly veiled wretched racist exhortation caused me to turn off my television or shut down my computer in disgust. I now recognize this as my own cowardly refusal to sit with and learn from discomfort (Applebaum 2017; Boler 1999). Even under that duress, I was not in accord with a fully radicalized activism against Whiteness, but again and again I was forced to accept that the recurrence of these dominant themes in society were grounds for serious reflection and consideration.

It was an elementary sense of justice and growing appreciation for the truths explained by critical race theory that left me with no option but to change my opinions. I slowly took upon myself (once I had found better grounds for making a judgment about society [e.g., Coates 2015]) an outspoken attitude that remaking American society by means—radical means, if necessary—consistent with the application of critical race theory is necessary to achieve racial and social justice, to say nothing of a fully equitable and just society (Trevino et al. 2008).

Thus, my ideas about Whiteness began to shift with the passage of time. The memory of my mother's commitment to racial egalitarianism and the principles it is built upon led me to an internal conflict. It was only by re-examining my mother's commitments and advice through a lens of critical theory that was I able to settle the ongoing war between my application of critical scholarship and naive sentiment—the matter being decided ever more solidly in favor of the former. Over the course of a deeply politically embattled year, even sentiment came to the side of critical scholarship, however, and has now become a faithful guardian and useful counselor. For example, the psychoanalytical approach of Franz Fanon (1963) impressed upon me the depth to which White supremacy had damaged the Black psyche, but as a White woman I was wary of the trap of believing I could truly comprehend its extent. Nakayama and Krizek's (1999) work on the discourse of Whiteness was more accessible to me, providing me with tools to deconstruct commonplace figures of speech and behold, for the first time, the inherent racial bias at work. Perhaps most significantly, the work of David Roediger (1991) enabled me to understand the class inequalities born of the construction of Whiteness and from this was born my radical and goal-orientated attitude.

Throughout this bitter struggle between the calm and precise theoretical considerations and application of scholarly critical theory and with the sentiments tied up in the memories of my childhood and of my mother, the lessons I learned served me with invaluable assistance. Eventually my eyes were opened, and I no longer had the ability to pass with the blindness of my youthful naiveté as I had done throughout my years in Scottsdale. My eyes opened to the truth of race, and in particular the unendurable ravages of Whiteness.

A Further Awakening

All at once, when passing through downtown, I suddenly encountered a large number of light-skinned people with blond hair. They were rowdy and seemingly jovial. They stared at me, and my first thought was: Are these *white* people or *White* people? Rather than looking away and hurrying about my own business, I decided to study the group cautiously and with great interest. I never answered the central question of whether they were merely white or fully White (though the demographics and my experiences in Scottsdale suggest they are the more kindly, thus insidious type of the latter), but the longer I stared at their countenance and examined their features, the more clear the questions became: Are these Whites like me? Am I like them?

As was my habit with when encountering unfamiliar experiences, I turned to books for help in settling my doubts. For the first time in my life I went to the university library at Jackson State University and read deeply into the scholarly Social Justice and critical race theory literature (as opposed to having browsed it online). But unfortunately everything I read began with the assumption that readers had at least a minimal degree of familiarity with the questions of privilege and of Whiteness. Moreover, the oscillating tone of most of these books and articles (between apologetic [e.g., Smith 2014] and explanatory [e.g., DiAngelo 2010, 2011, 2015] was such that I became doubtful again, in part because it seemed to me that many of the arguments and appeals made were somewhat superficial and the proofs unscientific and lacking rigor. There was also a wholesale lack of genealogical explanatory models [e.g., Rasmussen 2011; West 2002] that would have helped me to make historical sense of these phenomena (Rasmussen 2011; West 1982).

Having put to rest my lingering questions about biology, culture, social behavior, and their covariant relationships, I soon returned to my old way of thinking despite having seen the problem of Whiteness with my eyes and felt it within my lived experience. Whiteness was again just a matter of chance pigmentation, but the questions I had were rooted in experience and therefore lingered until they gnawed at me. The subject became so all-encompassing, particularly in Jackson where I was not around people who looked and acted like me, and the accusations of White privilege were so far-reaching that I was afraid of dealing with it unjustly or capriciously. I did not want my desire for what I hoped to be true to cloud my vision of what was actually the case, and so I became again anxious, uncertain, and frustrated by my failure to find answers.

I could no longer doubt that in Whiteness there was an entirely different people with different social and economic lives and different privileges due to accidents of birth (Roediger 1991). As I began to sincerely investigate the matter and observe White people in as detached a way as I can, trying to apply a critical-race lens, I concurrently began to feel absolutely overwhelmed—emotionally, cognitively, psychologically, and even physically—by how different we were and also how *categorically* different White lives were. This sense was enhanced in me by careful and deliberate consideration provided within the writing of Ta-Nehisi Coates, especially his essays about the 2016 political election and its fallout and, even more, his groundbreaking book *Between the World and Me* (Coates 2015, 2016, 2017):

You must resist the common urge toward the comforting narrative of divine law, toward

fairy tales that imply some irrepressible justice. The enslaved were not bricks in your

road, and their lives were not chapters in your redemptive history. They were people

turned to fuel for the American machine. Enslavement was not destined to end, and it is

wrong to claim our present circumstance—no matter how improved—as the redemption

for the lives of people who never asked for the posthumous, untouchable glory of dying

for their children. Our triumphs can never compensate for this. (Coates 2015:70)

Suddenly, informed by Coates, Jackson's inhabitants appeared to me in a different light. Wherever I went I saw not just white people but Whites, mostly of the subtler systemic and thus "soft" hidden kind, and the more Whites I saw the more strikingly and clearly they stood out as a different from People of Color. (The suburbs and surrounding rural areas in particular swarmed with a people who, even in outer appearance, bore no similarity to People of Color.)

Reading Coates was a watershed moment for me, but it still fought against the seemingly calm wisdom of my mother who taught us to hold our heads higher and rise above the problems I had come to see as constitutive of Whiteness. But any indecisions I may have felt were finally extirpated by the activities of a certain section of Whiteness itself. Following the official nomination of Donald Trump for the highest office in American politics, movements such as Neo-Nazism, Neo-Klanism, and other strains of *explicit* White supremacy arose among Whites as an outgrowth of the masked toxic Whiteness which Coates had pointed to and that Whiteness studies had explained all along (Coates 2015; Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Its aim was to assert the racial character of Whites, and as such the movement came unavoidably crashing into my consciousness due to events in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August of 2017.

To outward appearances it seemed as if only one small group of a thousand threatened Whites with Tiki torches, claiming victimhood over little more than an imperceptible loss in their status of White American privilege, championed this movement, while the great majority of w/White people, and even respectable-seeming "soft" Whites, disapproved or repudiated the open expression of a new American White supremacy (Ipsos Public Affairs 2017). But a deeper and more probing investigation showed that those outward appearances were intentionally and numerically misleading. These reactions emerged from an amalgam of theories which had been produced for reasons of expediency, if not for purposes of outright deception (Birt 2004). For that part of Whiteness which self-describes as "Liberal" did not *disown* the supremacists as if they were not members of their race but rather saw them to be brother and sister w/Whites who publicly professed their Whiteness in an unpractical and ugly way, so as to create a danger for Whiteness itself (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Thus there was no genuine rift in the internal solidarity of Whiteness or reduction in its othering of People of Color. There was no push to dismantle Whiteness from within Whiteness itself.

The fictitious conflict between White supremacists and allegedly "Woke" Liberals soon repulsed and horrified me while concurrently filling me with shame and anxiety; for it was an entirely false narrative and stood in diametric opposition to the moral high ground and immaculate character upon which Liberalism publicly prided itself (Delgado and Stefancic 2000:esp. 1–39; Delgado and Stefancic 2017:esp. 26–31). This circumstance soon gave me pause for serious consideration. (Neo)liberal exploitations and its manifestations (Davis 2012), along with the activities of Whites in all branches of public life was a mystery I attempted to unveil. Was there any form of racial politics, especially in cultural and economic life, in which Whites as self-described Liberals did not participate? As Giroux (2010) argues, "Racism survives through the guise of neoliberalism, a kind of repartee that imagines human agency as simply a matter of individualized choices, the only obstacle to effective citizenship and agency being the lack of principled self-help and moral responsibility" (191).

The charge against Whiteness grew until it became grave—in the moment I discovered open White advocacy and race-baiting in the press, government, literature, and media. One needed only to look at syndicated columnists, congressmen and allegedly distinguished senators, and those in the upper echelons of the film industry, and study the authors who were highly lauded in order to become permanently awakened to questions and intrinsic problems of Whiteness (Gray 2016; Kirk 2016; Kuykendall 2016; United States House 2018). Through this examination, I came to understand a moral pestilence with which the public was infected, and it was in lethal doses that these toxins were manufactured and distributed—with the lower the intellectual and moral level of media producers, the more tireless their fecundity. In America today we must recognize there is no limit to the number of such people and all w/White people are complicit. It was from this disturbing thought, though it cannot be avoided, that I recognized that Whiteness in America, and with it all American Whites, are specially destined by their complicity in Whiteness itself to play a shameful part (Eddo-Lodge 2017).

From this realization, I began to inquire into the people who fabricated these cultural artifacts that were ubiquitous in public life, e.g., White Jesus, White Santa Claus, Superman, Batman, television shows with token People of Color (of which *South Park* has reminded us), games, movies, the ubiquity of culinary preferences, and even facial recognition software (Entman and Rojecki 2001; Boylorn 2008; Finley 2017; Townsend 2017). The result of my inquiry was even more unfavorable yet forceful in shaping my attitude which I had previously held regarding w/Whites, including myself. Though my feelings might be in revolt, theory now led me to ineluctable, fact-based conclusions.

The deeper my inquiry went, the less respect I had for institutions I formerly admired (judicial, academic, film, mainstream press, the Senate and House of Representatives, necessarily now the American presidency itself, and even "Liberal" bastions like the *New York Times*). I had no option left but to reject their socially constructed narratives of domination and privileged positions from which they spring into being (Entman and Rojecki 2001). To claim that their unspoken biases, views, and general attitudes were impartial was more false than true, and in virtually every instance their leadership was occupied by economically privileged white people who are by their very natures also White (Lipsitz 2006; Shapiro 2004).

Scores of details I previously noticed but paid little attention to now devoured my attention. I slowly and methodically began to pierce the veil of constructed narratives of social dominance, supremacy, and political systems as their enablers that were formerly masked. When I went to critical race theory, it merely informed me, but when critical race theory came to me, I was fundamentally changed. For example, I now saw Liberalism in an entirely different garb. Its previously dignified tone in response to the attacks of its detractors and its silence in other instances now became evident as part of a reprehensible way of deceiving the populace with regard to privilege while consistently reestablishing Whiteness as normative. Its critics were either praised by w/White authors, or criticism was reserved exclusively for non-w/Whites, or non-w/Whites were insincerely praised to placate other (usually Liberal) non-w/Whites. Underneath this veneer stood the implicit, systematic condemnation of African culture and civilization, and those of African descent, along with other non-w/White cultures and genealogies repugnant and disruptive to the White American ideal (Delgado and Stefancic 2000).

Moreover, regarding the print media, the content of feuilletons in Liberal papers like the *New York Times* was trivial and banal (e.g., "The Best TV Shows of 2017" or "Gentlemen of the Road: On Discord Arising From Excessive Love of a Hat"). It was the *lingua franca* of the Liberal press that had the accent of a colonizing people. The tone was explicitly White and implicitly derogatory to People of Color, and I cannot help but to think this was a byproduct of colonialist thinking and (subconscious and internalized) attempts to reinforce narratives and entrenched power dynamics that marginalize People of Color and maintain hegemonic White normativity throughout American culture. Liberalism carries the seeds and defenses of perpetual racism and exploitation.

Then something happened that pushed me into a new realization. I saw through an entire series of events that were taking place in other facets of life. This awakening was inspired by being a cocktail server for a wedding at the house of an elite White family. Here, the concept of manners and morals, which was openly put into practice by a large section of the "non-racist" Whites, was on full display. It was unavoidable to come away from this elite White party, in which I was treated far better than People of Color and yet expected to be servile to Whiteness, without observing that the life I observed in, and thus in America more broadly, was constrained by systemic racism to teach People of Color what Whiteness really is.

In the months that followed I had no more reluctance to bring the problem of Whiteness to light. Henceforth, on moral grounds, I was thus determined to do so. But as I studied the work of w/Whites of influence in different spheres of cultural, economic, and artistic life, I was far too slow to realize to degree to which we control all aspects of the political parties and positions in Mississippi (e.g., Governor Phil Bryant, Lieutenant Governor Tate Reeves, Secretary of State Delbert Hosemann, State Auditor Stacey Pickering, Commissioner of Agriculture Cindy Hyde-Smith, Commissioner of Insurance Mike Chaney). When confronted with the stark fact that Mississippi as a political entity is also Whiteness as a political entity, the scales fell from my eyes. Finally, my long inner struggle between the scholarship of critical theory and the sentimentality of my childhood ended and I began to take action, beginning with a return to studying scholarly critical race theory.

Steeped thusly in my studies, and trying to make sense of my experiences, I made a sincere effort to overcome my natural reticence and expand my reading further. I studied articles published in the mainstream venues but in the process of doing so my concerns increased commensurately. To help reconcile my experience with what I was reading, I attempted to learn something about the people who published and wrote this content. From the publisher to the producer on down, virtually everyone was w/White, and so, in expressing an irrepressible need to project their Whiteness, these media producers even made Black stories like the Black Lives Matter protests into White stories (Duncan-Shippy et al. 2017). I then recalled the faces of public officials of major political parties and mainstream media outlets, and nearly every single one of them was also w/White—from the representatives in the United Nations (Nikki Haley) to the street agitators like Antifa. One fact became evident: w/Whites occupied the leadership of all minor and major political parties and every single mainstream media outlet (Painter 2011). Thus, finally, I came to discover the truth of what was oppressing People of Color.

My critical reading journey in Jackson proved sufficient to convince me that I was not so rooted in my preconceived convictions that I would not surrender them in face of clearer and superior explanations and arguments. So, with the guidance of academic mentors, I delved into in the doctrines of Neo-Nazis, the KKK, and White supremacists—and I used this knowledge like a hammer to nail down my convictions. The populace can be rescued by a remaking of society, but not absent sufficient time and immeasurable patience. A White person in a White society, however, can never be rescued from privilege (Bailey 2017; Leonardo 2004; Wallis 2016).

With guidance from other scholars it was then elementary to show the injustice of the White way of being in the world (cf. Garvey 1935). Within my small circle I talked with an open heart to Whites I knew until my voice became hoarse and my throat sore. I still held out hope, believing that I could finally persuade them of the danger and inhumanity inherent in Whiteness and privilege, but verbal outreach as a form of activism was not enough. Tragically, I achieved a contrary result. The moment the catastrophic effect of Whiteness and its application became evident, the stronger became their denial (Applebaum 2017; Bailey 2017; DiAngelo 2010, 2011, 2015). The more I discussed and then debated, the more familiar I became with White Fragility and its related dialectical and rhetorical tactics. Some counted upon the ignorance of their opponents, but when they became entangled so that they could not find an exit, they acted like they were suddenly the victims. Their fear of having their own sense of goodness challenged (Bailey 2017) produced resistance, denial, anger, and even trauma (DiAngelo 2011, 2015). They would naively claim, for example, that People of Color already have equal opportunities in America, or that a poor Black is better off here than in Africa, or that we cannot fix our public schools because that would increase deficits. Alternatively, they rejected Whiteness studies and advocated social Darwinism, or in more extreme cases, argued for a kind of genetic epistemology where one's understanding is rooted in one's biology (with White, colonialist knowledge occupying the highest echelon).

Once these arguments were shown to not be based upon sufficient evidence to warrant belief, they acted as if they did not understand counterarguments and switched the conversation. Immediately before this happened, they would offer truisms and platitudes ("Fairness is good," "*All* lives matter," and "No justice, no peace"); and, if I temporarily assented, then they were applied to distinct matters of different nature from the original conversation. This is an example of what Allison Bailey calls "privilege preserving epistemic pushback" which is a form of willful ignorance designed to protect privileged epistemologies. Bailey refers to this as a "shadow text" which runs alongside the discussion but offers no epistemic friction, serving only a protective purpose (2017:877). When confronted with this, they would obfuscate, sometimes becoming angry and confused, and demonstrate the phenomenon DiAngelo describes as White Fragility.

Whenever I tried to firmly grasp the arguments of these apostles of Whiteness, it was as though my hand grasped only Jell-O which slipped through my fingers. If they were compelled to relent to my argument, perhaps because of other People of Color or w/White allies who were present, then I thought, "At last I have gained ground," yet my surprise immediately followed once the circumstances changed. The White person would be utterly oblivious (or pretend to be) to what just happened, and he would once again begin to repeat his former racist and privileged notions, as if nothing had happened. This phenomenon, described by Dotson (2014) as "epistemic resilience," reveals the difficulty of penetrating an accepted epistemology which a privileged group is motivated to preserve.

If I became indignant and reminded him of our conversation, he feigned astonishment and claimed he did not remember anything, except that previously he proved his statements were correct. As a result, sometimes I was dumbfounded. Sometimes I was hurt. Always I was concerned. And more often than not I was amazed; I do not know what amazed me more—the excessive verbiage, unjust "just" rhetoric, or the artful ways in which Whiteness systematically clothed falsehoods. And to think: this had been me; I am complicit in this! The willful ignorance of privilege preserving epistemic pushback (Bailey 2017), always easily perceptible by People of Color (hooks 1992) once recognized, became intolerable. To be completely candid, I came to loathe them, though in time I came to realize it is Whiteness itself that I loathe.

From that point forward, I began to study contemporary White thought leaders such as Richard Spencer, Jordan Peterson, and Steve Bannon, with a goal of understanding the overall principles of the emergent White supremacy movement. I was able to attain my objective more quickly than I expected. This is because of the deeper insight into the question of Whiteness which I gained from filtering these authors through the lens of critical race theory and comparing them against Coates and others (Baum 2017; Coates 2012, 2015; hooks 1995; Ray et al. 2017).

These most recent studies enabled me to make a practical comparison between content and theoretical pretentiousness of the pedagogies and practices of the apostolic founders of, for example, White and Male (Neo)-Liberalism (Harvey 2007); because I now understood the discourses of White privilege both from the emic perspective of White supremacists themselves and through the etic insights of critical race scholarship (Levin and Guenther 2017). These I compared against the parallel co-constituted problems of Maleness in society, better known as Patriarchy (as recommended by McIntosh [2004], cf. hooks [1995]). Above all, I realized that w/White people (and males in particular) use language for the purpose of disguising their thought or at least veiling it, all the while constructing the social, political, and economic hegemony of Whiteness.

The work of McIntosh began this journey but hooks, Jouve, and Carby had called to me insistently demanding that I listen. Nayakama and Krizek had made me able to hear and Dotson, DiAngelo, Bailey and Wolf had enabled me, to some degree, to understand. This knowledge brought with it the most profound inner revolution in my life. Still, even now, as I study the activities of w/White people throughout recorded history (with a particular emphasis of colonialism), I am filled with anxieties. I interrogated myself as to whether, for reasons I could not fathom, fate may have demanded that a final victory would be bestowed on this relatively small group of under-pigmented yet supremacist and colonialist people. Clearly, it is the right of oppressed and colonized peoples to struggle for equality and self-preservation against such hegemonic Whiteness, but what can be done do dismantle Whiteness from within?

White privilege repudiates the principles of social and economic justice and substitutes for it hammers of domination and subordination based upon skin color. Thus it denies the individual worth of the human personality, impugns the teaching that other races have a primary significance, and by doing this it takes away the foundations of human dignity. If the co-constituted doctrines of w/White privilege were to continue to be accepted as foundational and apodictic, they would lead to cementing of economic and social order and the erasure of personal and racial sovereignty. Whiteness, then, must be dismantled, for should Whiteness, with the aid of supremacist doctrines, maintain its triumph over the people of this world, its crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind.

References

Applebaum, Barbara. 2017. "Comforting Discomfort as Complicity: White Fragility and the
Pursuit of Invulnerability." *Hypatia* 32(4):862–875.

Anderson, Leon. 2006. "Analytic Autoethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*
35(4):373–395.

Bailey, Alison. 2017. "Tracking Privilege-Preserving Epistemic Pushback in Feminist and
Critical Race Philosophy Classes." *Hypatia* 32(4):876–892.

Baum, Bruce. 2017. "Donald Trump's 'Genius,' White 'Natural Aristocracy,' and Democratic
Equality in America." *Theory & Event* 20(1):10–22.

Berenstain, Nora. 2016. "Epistemic Exploitation." *Ergo, an Open Access Journal of Philosophy*
3(22). doi: 10.3998/ergo.12405314.0003.022

Birt, Robert E. 2004. "The Bad Faith of Whiteness." Pp. 55–64 in *What White Looks Like:
African-American Philosophers on the Whiteness Question*, edited by George Yancy.
New York: Routledge.

Boler, Megan. 1999. *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*. New York: Routledge.

Boylorn, Robin M. 2008. "As Seen on TV: An Autoethnographic Reflection on Race and Reality
Television." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 25:413–433.

Cameron, C. Daryl, B. Keith Payne, and Joshua Knobe. 2010. "Do Theories of Implicit Race
Bias Change Moral Judgments?" *Social Justice Research* 23(4):272–289.

Carby, Hazel Vivian. 1982. "White Woman Listen!: Black Feminism and the Boundaries of
Sisterhood." Pp. 212–235 in *Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in the 1970s Britain*.
London: Hutchinson Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of
Birmingham.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2012. "Fear of a Black President." *The Atlantic*, September 22. Retrieved

    April 18, 2018 (https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/09/fear-of-a-black-

    president/309064/).

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2015. *Between the World and Me*. New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2016. "Why Precisely is Bernie Sanders Against Reparations?" *The Atlantic*,

    January 19. Retrieved April 18, 2018

    (https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/01/bernie-sanders-

    reparations/424602/).

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2017. "The First White President." *The Atlantic*, October. Retrieved April 18,

    2018 (https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/10/the-first-white-president-

    ta-nehisi-coates/537909/).

Colley, Linda. 2000. "Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations, and Empire." *Past

    & Present* 168:170–193.

Colyar, Julia E. 2013. "Reflections on Writing and Autoethnography." Pp. 123–142 in *Handbook

    of Autoethnography*, edited by Stacy Holman Jones, Tony E. Adams, and Carolyn Ellis.

    Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Davis, Angela Y. 2012. *The Meaning of Freedom and Other Difficult Dialogues*. San Francisco,

    CA: City Lights Publishers.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic (eds). 2000. *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*.

    Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2017. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York:

    New York University Press.

DiAngelo, Robin J. 2010. "Why Can't We All Just Be Individuals?: Countering the Discourse of Individualism in Anti-Racist Education." InterActions: *UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 6(1). Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5fm4h8wm).

DiAngelo, Robin J. 2011. "White Fragility." *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3(3):54–70.

DiAngelo, Robin J. 2015. "White Fragility: Why It's So Hard to Talk to White People About Racism." *The Good Men Project*, April 9. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://goodmenproject.com/featured-content/white-fragility-why-its-so-hard-to-talk-to-white-people-about-racism-twlm/).

Dixon, Travis L. 2008. "Crime News and Racialized Beliefs: Understanding the Relationship Between Local News Viewing and Perceptions of African Americans and Crime." *Journal of Communication* 58(1):106–125.

Dizard, Jan E. 1970. "Black Identity, Social Class, and Black Power." *Psychiatry* 33(2):195–207.

Dotson, Kristie. 2011. "Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing." *Hypatia* 26(2):236–257.

Dotson, Kristie. 2014. "Conceptualizing Epistemic Oppression." *Social Epistemology* 28(2):115–138.

Duncan-Shippy, Ebony M., Sarah Caroline Murphy, and Michelle A. Purdy. 2017. "An Examination of Mainstream Media as an Educating Institution: The Black Lives Matter Movement and Contemporary Social Protest." Pp. 99–142 in *The Power of Resistance: Culture, Ideology and Social Reproduction in Global Contexts*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Eddo-Lodge, Reni. 2017. "Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race." *The Guardian*, May 30. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/30/why-im-no-longer-talking-to-white-people-about-race).

Ellingson, Laura L., and Carolyn Ellis. 2008. "Autoethnography as Constructionist Project. Pp. 445–466 in *Handbook of Constructionist Research*, edited by James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium. New York: Guilford Press.

Entman, Robert M., and Andrew Rojecki. 2001. *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press.

Finley, Klint. 2017. "Can Apple's iPhone X Beat Facial Recognition's Bias Problem?" *Wired*, September 13. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://www.wired.com/story/can-apples-iphone-x-beat-facial-recognitions-bias-problem/).

Garvey, Marcus. 1935. *The Tragedy of White Injustice*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press.

Giroux, Henry A. 2003. "Spectacles of Race and Pedagogies of Denial: Anti-Black Racist Pedagogy Under the Reign of Neoliberalism." *Communication Education* 52(3–4):191–211.

Gray, Tim. (2016). "Academy Nominates All White Actors for Second Year in Row." *Variety*, January 14. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (http://variety.com/2016/biz/awards/oscar-nominations-2016-diversity-white-1201674903/).

Harvey, David. 2007. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

hooks, bell. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, bell. 1995. *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*. New York: Holt Paperbacks.

hooks, bell. 2003. *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Routledge.

Ipsos Public Affairs. 2017. "Reuters/Ipsos/UVA Center for Politics Race Poll." Retrieved April

    18, 2018 (http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2017-

    Reuters-UVA-Ipsos-Race-Poll-9-11-2017.pdf).

Jouve, Nicole Ward. 1991. *White Woman Speaks with Forked Tongue: Criticism as*

    Autobiography. New York: Routledge.

Kajikawa, Loren. 2009. "Eminem's 'My Name Is': Signifying Whiteness, Rearticulating Race."

    Journal of the Society for American Music 3(3):341–363.

Kelly, Maura. 2010. "Regulating the Reproduction and Mothering of Poor Women: The

    Controlling Image of the Welfare Mother in Television News Coverage of Welfare

    Reform." Journal of Poverty 14(1):76–96. doi:10.1080/10875540903489447

King, Martin Luther, Jr. [1967] 2010. *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?*

    Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Kirk, Ashley. 2016. "Oscars 2016 Race Row: How Representative is the Academy Awards?" *The*

    Telegraph, February 29. Retrieved April 18, 2018

    (https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/oscars/12120671/Oscars-2016-race-row-How-

    representative-is-the-Academy-Awards.html).

Kuykendall, Ronald A. 2016. "Whiteness as Antidialogical." Pp. 295–310 in *Rhetorics of*

    Whiteness: Postracial Hauntings in Popular Culture, Social Media, and Education,

    edited by Tammie M. Kennedy, Joyce Irene Middleton, and Krista Ratcliffe. Carbondale:

    Southern Illinois University Press.

Leonardo, Zeus. 2004. "The Color of Supremacy: Beyond the Discourse of 'White Privilege.'"

    Educational Philosophy and Theory 36(2):137–152.

Levin, Abigail, and Lisa Guenther. 2017. "White 'power' and the Fear of Replacement." *The*

    New York Times, August 28. Retrieved April 18, 2018

    (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/opinion/white-power-and-the-fear-of-

    replacement.html).

Lipsitz, George. 2006. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from*

    Identity Politics. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

McIntosh, Peggy. 2004. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." Pp. 188 – 192

    in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States*, edited by Paula S. Rothenberg. New

    York: MacMillan.

McKinney, K. D. 2003. "'I Feel "Whiteness" When I Hear People Blaming Whites': Whiteness

    as Cultural Victimization." *Race and Society* 6(1):39–55.

Muncey, Tessa. 2010. "Making Sense of Autoethnographic Texts: Legitimacy, Truth and

    Memory. Pp. 85–112 in *Creating Autoethnographies*. London: SAGE Publications.

Nakayama, Thomas K., and Judith N. Martin (eds). 1999. *Whiteness: The Communication of*

    Social Identity. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Nayak, Anoop. 2007. "Critical Whiteness Studies." *Sociology Compass* 1(2):737–755.

Painter, Nell Irvin. 2011. *The History of White People*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Ray, Victor Erik, Antonia Randolph, Megan Underhill, and David Luke. 2017. "Critical Race

    Theory, Afro-Pessimism, and Racial Progress Narratives." *Sociology of Race and*

    Ethnicity 3(2): 147–158.

Rasmussen, Kim Su. 2011. "Foucault's Genealogy of Racism." *Theory, Culture & Society* 28(5):34–51.

Roediger, David R. 1991. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso.

Sanders, Joshunda. 2015. *How Racism and Sexism Killed Traditional Media: Why the Future of Journalism Depends on Women and People of Color*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Sears, Christine E. 2007. *A Different Kind of Slavery: American Captives in Barbary, 1776–1830*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://search.proquest.com/openview/84b856ce5534ae81a2165bd05e0c3bc6/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y).

Shapiro, Thomas M. 2004. *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Barbara A. 2014. *White Students' Understanding of Race: An Exploration of How White University Students, Raised in a Predominately White State, Experience Whiteness*. Ed.D. dissertation, The University of Maine, Orono, Maine. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://search.proquest.com/openview/4e97d3fb866a03be90e79b0d39b48f4e/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y).

Smith, Stacy L., Marc Choueiti, Katherine Pieper, Traci Gillig, Carmen Lee, and Dylan DeLuca. 2015. "Inequality in 700 Popular Films: Examining Portrayals of Gender, Race, & LGBT Status from 2007 to 2014." *Media, Diversity, & Social Change Initiative*, University of Southern California. Retrieved April 18, 2018 (http://annenberg.usc.edu/sites/default/files/MDSCI_Inequality_in-700_Popular.pdf).

Stanwood, Owen. 2006. "Captives and Slaves: Indian Labor, Cultural Conversion, and the

      Plantation Revolution in Virginia." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*

      114(4):435–463.

Statistical Atlas. 2017a. "Race and Ethnicity in Jackson, Mississippi." Retrieved April 18, 2018

      (https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Mississippi/Jackson/Race-and-Ethnicity).

Statistical Atlas. 2017b. "Race and Ethnicity in Scottsdale, Arizona." Retrieved April 18, 2018

      (https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Arizona/Scottsdale/Race-and-Ethnicity).

Sue, Derald Wing, Christina M. Capodilupo, and Aisha M. B. Holder. 2008. "Racial

      Microaggressions in the Life Experience of Black Americans." *Professional Psychology:*

      Research and Practice 39(3):329–336.

Tate, Greg. 2003. *Everything but the Burden: What White People Are Taking from Black Culture.*

      New York: Broadway Books.

Townsend, Tess. 2017. "Most Engineers are White—and so Are the Faces They Use to Train

      Software: A Black Researcher Had to Wear a White Mask to Test Her Own Project."

      Recode, January 18. Retrieved April 18, 2018

      (https://www.recode.net/2017/1/18/14304964/data-facial-recognition-trouble-

      recognizing-black-white-faces-diversity).

Treviño, A. Javier, Michelle A. Harris, and Derron Wallace. 2008. "What's So Critical About

      Critical Race Theory?" *Contemporary Justice Review* 11(1):7–10.

United States House of Representatives, Office of the Historian. 2018. "Black-American

Representatives and Senators by State and Territory, 1870–Present." *History, Art &*

Archives of the United States House of Representatives. Washington, D.C.: U.S.

Government Printing Office. Retrieved April 18, 2018

(http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Data/Black-

American-Representatives-and-Senators-by-State-and-Territory/).

Wallis, Jim. 2016. *America's Original Sin: Racism, White Privilege, and the Bridge to a New*

America. Ada, MI: Brazos Press.

West, Cornel. 1982. "A Genealogy of Modern Racism." Pp. 47–68 in *Prophesy Deliverance! An*

Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox

Press.

Winkler, Ingo. 2017. "Doing Autoethnography: Facing Challenges, Taking Choices, Accepting

Responsibilities." *Qualitative Research* 24(4):236–247.

Wolf, Allison B. 2017. "'Tell Me How That Makes You Feel': Philosophy's Reason/Emotion

Divide and Epistemic Pushback in Philosophy Classrooms." *Hypatia* 32(4):893–910.

Young, Damon. 2015a. "The Friendly, Caring, and Kind Crossing Guard on My Block Hates

Muslims." *1839 Magazine*. Retrieved February 15, 2018 (http://1839mag.com/race-

politics/the-friendly-sweet-kind-and-caring-crossing-guard-on-my-block-definitely-hates-

muslims/).

Young, Damon. 2015b. "The Difference Between 'white People' and 'White People.'" *The Root*.

Retrieved April 18, 2018 (https://www.theroot.com/the-difference-between-white-people-

and-white-people-1790861926).